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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 4030
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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

KATHMANDU FOR AMB BUNKER

SUBJECT: PHAN KHAC SUU CAMPAIGN PLATFORM

1. THIS TELEGRAM TRANSMITS A SUMMARY TRANSLATION OF PHAN KHAC SUU - PHAN QUANG DAN CAMPAIGN PLATFORM. PARTCULARLY NOTEWORTHY IS ECONOMIC-SOCIAL SECTION, WHICH INCLUDES EXTENSIVE LAND REFORM PROPOSALS, AND SECTION ON PEACE, PLEDGING AN EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A MUTUAL DE-ESCALATION LEADING TO A CEASE-FIRE. FULL TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT, WHICH ALSO INCLUDES

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON SUU AND DAN, WILL BE POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.

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2. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS OF THE SUU-DAN PLATFORM:

3. POLITICAL: CONSOLIDATE RULE OF LAW; RESTORE NATIONAL AUTHORITY; CARRY OUT CONSTITUTION; PROTECT FREEDOM OF PRESS, ASSOCIATION AND UNIONS; HELP POLITICAL PARTIES TO DEVELOP; ENCOURAGE LEGAL OPPOSITION; COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

4. STRENGTHEN DISCIPLINE IN ARMED FORCES; REORGANIZE ARMY ON BASIS OF PROVEN ABILITY WITHOUT REGIONAL, POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION; OPEN OFFICER CORPS TO ABLE PERSONS WHO DO NOT HAVE DIPLOMAS; ASSIST VETERANS, WIDOWS, WAR-WOUNDED, ETC.; REORGANIZE AND STRENGTHEN CIVIL SERVICE.

5. ECONOMIC-SOCIAL: "LAND REVOLUTION", INCLUDING: 1) LIMIT HOLDINGS TO 50 HECTARES; 2) DISTRIBUTE LAND TO FARMERS, RECOGNIZE RIGHT OF FARMERS TO OWN LAND THEY CULTIVATE; 3) PLACE MORATORIUM ON RENT DURING WARTIME; 4) EASE BORROWING AND REPAYMENT PROCEDURES FOR FARMERS; 5) COMPENSATE LAND OWNERS BY SHARES IN GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES OR BY NEW LAND TO BE DEVELOPED; 6) OPEN UP NEW AND UNCULTIVATED LAND, DISTRIBUTE LAND TO VETERANS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PLANTATIONS.

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6. IN CITIES, HELP PEOPLE TO OWN LAND AND HOUSES THEY LIVE IN; PROTECT FREEDOM OF INVESTMENT; GRADUALLY CEDE GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP; ALLOW WORKERS TO SHARE IN OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

7. CONSTRUCT SELF-SUFFICIENT ECONOMY; PROTECT DOMESTIC WORKERS AND PRODUCTS; DEVELOP ECONOMIC INFRASTGUCTURE; RESTRICT USE OF FOREIGN NATIONALS TO JOBS FOR WHICH VIETNAMESE SPECIALISTS ARE NOT AVAILABLE; PROTECT PIASTER AND CONTROL COST OF LIVING; ASSIST MINORITIES; ORGANIZE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM;

8. EDUCATIONAL-CULTURAL: RESTORE TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND EDUCATION; DEVELOP TECHNICAL EDUCATION; RESTORE DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOLS; EXPAND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION; PROTECT UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND STRENGTHEN UNIVERSITIES; ENCOURAGE YOUTH AND SPORTS

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ORGANIZATIONS.

9. FOREIGN RELATIONS: RETAKE INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS; EXPAND RELATIONS WITH AFRO-ASIAN STATES; IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NEIGHZORING STATES AND MOVE TOWARD CREATION OF A SOUTHEAST AGIAN COMMON MARKET.

10. PEACE: OPEN DOOR TO NECESSARY TALKS, NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH NORTH VIET-NAM; "ENDEAVOR TO BRING ABOUT A MUTUAL

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AND SIMULTANEOUS DE-ESCALATION OF THE WAR IN ORDER TO MOVE TOWARD A CEASEFIRE";WIDEN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC FRONTS TO SUPPORT THE MILITARY AND SHORTEN THE WAR; BRING ABOUT UNITY TO RE-ESTABLISH PEACE IN FREEDOM;

11. COMMENT: ECONOMIC-SOCIAL PLANK, WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON LAND REFORM, RIGHT OF WORKERS TO PARTICIPATE IN MANAGEMENT OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, ETC., ACCURATELY REFLECTS POSITIONS TAKEN BY DR. DAN DURING CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES (AS DAN MENTIONS IN HIS BIOGRAPHIC PARAGRAPH).
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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM : American Embassy SAIGON DATE: August 4, 1967

SUBJECT : Conversation With Hoang co Thuy, Leading Candidate on Senate List No. 9

REF :

Hoang co Thuy, a moderately successful lawyer from North Viet-Nam (born September 24, 1912, in Ha Dong province), is the leading candidate on Senate List No. 9, which he describes as a balanced composition of Catholics and Buddhists. It is balanced in other ways, also, as three of the 10-man list are in their 30's, four are in their 40's, and three are in their 50's. By occupation the candidates on this list are largely professionals. One candidate, Ngo van Nham, currently serving in the provisional National Assembly from Binh Dinh province.

The list is of more than routine interest for two reasons: 1) It is more or less explicitly joined to Senate List no. 47, headed by Pham Thai, and is in support of the presidential candidacy of Vu hong Khanh (one of the two VNQDD candidates); 2) List No. 9 is headed by Hoang co Thuy, one of the plotters of the abortive coup d'etat of November, 1960, against the Diem Government. His candidacy marks his formal re-entry into active political life, although he publicly advocated a boycott of the 1966 Constituent Assembly elections.

While List no. 9 is somewhat better organized and perhaps more carefully chosen than some of the other lists, Thuy has few illusions about his prospects. He notes that he and his colleagues have very limited financial resources and will be unable to pay their agents in the provinces. With the whole country as their electoral district, this will leave them almost entirely at the mercy of the administrative machine during the vote-count. In a conversation with the

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reporting officer, Thuy indicated lively apprehensions concerning what would happen during the elections, although he expressed hope that they will have the substance, as well as the appearance of being free. He indicated that the fact that his list is supporting Vu hong Khanh for the presidency, rather than his brother, Hoang co Binh (List No. 3), is a matter of politics rather than personality. He regards a coalition with the VNQDD as a matter of long-term value, even though his list may not be elected in September.

Hoang co Thuy is a personality of more than ordinary interest. He has demonstrated his determination and willingness to act by participating in the planning for the abortive coup of November 11, 1960, which, in fact, came very close to success. Recalling the coup, he said that he and his principal associates (Lt. Col. Vuong van Dong and his brother, Lt. Col. Vuong van Ham, the latter of whom was killed during the fighting) had sought to limit their action to the area of Independence Palace to prevent Communist exploitation of the incident. He felt the Communists would not be able to do anything about a coup that took place in the middle of Saigon. He went into exile when the coup collapsed November 12, 1960, and returned to Viet-Nam after the Diem Government fell. His return to political activity was slow, however, for his co-plotter in 1960, Lt. Col. Dong, became involved in serious differences with Gen. Nguyen chanh Thi, another participant in the 1960 coup, and went into exile in 1964. It was not until Gen. Thi in turn went into exile in 1966 that Hoang co Thuy felt safe enough to resume political activity.

While List No. 9, as such, appears to have very limited prospects for election in September, Hoang co Thuy is a political personality worthy of note. He has a reasonably secure occupation as a lawyer with an established practice and an ensured livelihood for his wife and seven children. He is vigorous, expresses himself reasonably and well (very fluent in French, limited English) has been through a very trying personal experience during the past six years or so, and has emerged still possessed of a balanced mind. He is patient, regards the next Senate and National Assembly as "transitional" during a time when the Constitution itself must still be tested, and is already talking of his prospects for elective office four years from now. (He is 55, appears to be in reasonable health, and may be part of the political scene for some time.) With particular regard to the Constitution, he considers that the Constitution of 1956, adopted under Diem, was a very reasonable document in itself, but, as used by Diem, it became an instrument of an authoritarian government. He has every hope for the new Constitution, but is more concerned over the manner in which it is applied by Vietnamese leaders in the future.

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